1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

Tribal organization in the eastern Plateau is probably not of great age. Several bits of evidence point to this conclusion. The persistent political powers of the village and the similarity of the village organization to that of autonomous villages to the west may be mentioned. Also, the tribal chiefs and councils are exact copies of those in the Plains, suggesting that sufficient time has not elapsed for adjustment and integration with local culture. Furthermore, the tribes with most typical Plains political structure are also those with the heaviest veneer of Plains culture in general, yet obviously quite superficial and recently borrowed. Plains culture hangs on the Umatilla like a brightly colored cloak hurriedly assumed and not yet adjusted. Therefore it is not surprising to find the adjacent Tenino quite innocent of such raiment, and of tribal structure. In the direction of the Sanpoil the adoption of Plains traits has proceeded more gradually and assimilation has been more complete. The Coeur d'Alêne show weak tribal organization; the Spokane and Columbia retain village autonomy but show a leaning toward tribal notions; the Sanpoil maintain complete village political independence. Other aspects of culture show a similar degree of Plains infiltration.

Natives themselves quite uniformly testify to the recency of tribal grouping, even among the Nez Percé. They also are quite aware of its source, and in like manner, the source of other elements of culture borrowed from the Plains. It seems quite certain that these influences did not antedate the acquisition of the horse. But contrary to common assumption, they probably did not come with the horse, nor from the same source as the horse. The Cayuse and Umatilla declare that they obtained their horses from the south, among the Shoshoneans, not from the east among Plains tribes. Haines, in a recent study, comes to the same conclusion. The route of travel, he says,

> was to the west of the continental divide, and followed the same route later used so much by the mountain men. It went from Santa Fé to the Snake River by way of the headwaters of the Colorado, the Grand and Green Rivers. Along this path the Navaho Apaches, the Ute, and the Shoshone took horses to the Pacific Northwest. Thus the Shoshone of southern Idaho were the means of furnishing horses to the Cayuse, Walla Walla [Walula], Yakima, Palouse, Nez Percé, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Blackfoot, Crow, and many other tribes before horses were common among the Sioux and the northeastern Assiniboin. It is interesting to note that the horse thieves of later years usually stole from the tribes from whom they traditionally secured their first animals.[18]

[18] Haines, *Northward Spread of Horses*, p. 436.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

This last observation is likewise corroborated by Cayuse and Umatilla.

All elements of Plains culture to be found in the Plateau, however, are intimately bound up with the horse complex. Though real enough, the relationship is probably indirect. Intercourse with far distant areas was obviously stimulated by possession of the horse. It would appear, therefore, that possessing the horse, the Indians of the eastern Plateau came into more frequent and intimate contact with Plains tribes and carried home many of the more obvious and impressive elements of Plains culture. One of these was tribal organization. The horse played a further role in this respect. It not only made visits to distant points possible, but greatly amplified intercourse within local areas. Village isolation was eliminated; local problems were dwarfed by regional problems, especially those of warfare and defense. Warfare itself was greatly amplified in frequency and scale.

The chronological problem raised earlier is now partially answered, if these reconstructions be correct. Tribal organization must have arisen subsequent to the acquisition of the horse. Haines places the date for this area at 1730. This corresponds closely to native estimates.

Village, Band, and Tribe

It has been convenient above to use and quote the term "band" without definition. Actually the word is applied in two quite different senses: one, a grouping of villages; two, a mobile or migratory group, usually small, in an area where sedentary life is lacking or little emphasized. In the latter sense the band is strictly analogous to the village so far as theory of organization is concerned. This type of local unit is found exclusively among the Sekani, and to a certain extent among the Carrier, Chilcotin, and Flathead. On the whole, Plateau life involves wintertime occupancy of river villages, and summertime camping at fishing, berrying, and root-digging grounds.

The band which consists of a number of villages is of quite a different order. Two sub-types, differing greatly in basic conception, may be isolated in the Plateau. One is merely the embryonic tribe developing under indirect influence from the Plains. Its most objective marks are common action in war and the recognition of a common war chief. Subjectively it involves a weakly developed national feeling and pride in the strength of unity. Type examples are the Yakima and Klikitat. The tendency is also observable among the Wenatchi, Columbia, Spokane, Palus, and Kalispel.